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THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

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AUTUMN MEETING

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CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES AUTUMN MEETING

CHALFONTE-HADDON HALL HOTEL, ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1947

10:30 A. M.

Lillian B. Lawler, President, Hunter College of the City of New York

Franklin B. Krauss, Secretary-Treasurer, The Pennsylvania State College

Vice-Presidents (in charge of the program): Paul A. Solandt, Washington College, Chestertown, Maryland; Elizabeth White, Junior High School, Bala-Cynwyd, Pennsylvania

Program

MANIUS CURIUS, A FRIEND OF CICERO: William C. McDermott, University of Pennsylvania

REFLECTIONS ON AN ARMY LANGUAGE COURSE: Harry L. Levy, Hunter College of the City of New York

IMPRESSIONS OF AN EXCHANGE TEACHER IN POST-WAR BRITAIN (Illustrated): E. Lucile Noble, Senior High School, Upper Darby, Pennsylvania

THE CLASSICS AND THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH PUBLIC ADDRESS, 1550-1650: Professor George P. Rice, Jr., Columbia University and the City College, New York City.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT ANCIENT OSTIA (Illustrated): Henry T. Rowell, The Johns Hopkins University

Meeting of the Executive Committee (1:00 P. M.)

GENERAL INFORMATION. Out-of-town members who wish to make room reservations at the Chalfonte-Haddon Hall Hotel should write for them promptly to the Manager of the Hotel, and should mention that they will attend the meeting of the Association.

THE PLACE OF THE CLASSICS IN THE COLLEGE CURRICULUM¹

In placing the Classics in the College curriculum it might be well first to list briefly the contributions which they have made to our culture. In so doing we shall find a general agreement that the ancient civilizations, Oriental and Classical, have laid the foundations of all the arts and sciences: literature (including history and philosophy), language, law and government, science, art, and religion. There is a real value, therefore, which these studies have directly, not only in the history, but also in the subject matter of the various college and university degrees: literature, for all degrees and for the bachelor of arts especially; Greek natural philosophy, Classical etymology, and technical terminology, for the bachelor of science; mythology and art, for the bachelor of fine arts; science (mathematics and physics), for engineering; legal science, for the law school; ancient social and economic studies for the school of business administration.

That the Classics have much to offer is not denied. The relative intrinsic importance of its various departments and their appropriateness for the various college degrees is the subject of this paper. The aim will not be one of inclusion or exclusion, but rather an endeavor to establish the criteria of emphasis. We shall concern ourselves here especially with the college of arts and sciences (and with the liberal arts course in particular), and our discussion may well begin with a search for the basic distinction between the two main branches of its curriculum.

A science tends toward abstract, objective truth, while an art presents truth in the forms of beauty perceptible to the senses of the subject. Both the creation and appreciation of art involve emotion and imagination as well as knowledge. Thus the essential difference is seen to be the doer and the act—a distinction which the gradual adoption of the scientific method in all fields has tended to obscure. It is thus that the arts are 'humane' (*humaniores*), for they involve the human being acting as a complete individual personality using all his faculties, though varying in the ways in which and the extent to which they do so. Most general, with least reference to ob-

jective reality, and often most profound is music. More concrete, more 'real', are the visual arts. Most specific, most committed to definite meaning and a logical sequence of ideas is literature. More than either of the other two it seeks communication and objective understanding. The words which it employs are conventional symbols much more restricted in their reference than the sounds of music or the colors and forms of visual art. Hence literature leads easily into philosophy, morality, history. For these reasons and since its theme is all of life itself, it occupies a place preeminent among the arts. The Romans, largely for social reasons connected with slavery and other class distinctions, excluded the fine arts from the 'liberal' arts. It is encouraging to see that recently we are returning to the more wholesome conception of the Greeks and are including the visual arts and music in the program of the liberal arts.

All higher education until recently was an education in the arts, and this meant for the most part literature. Ever since the Renaissance the Classics have occupied a supreme place as representatives of the greatest literatures of all time. Literature itself was considered broadly, and content and form were kept together in wholesome unity. As the tradition became old there was an increasing emphasis on the formal aspect: language, grammar, and style—fostered partly by the gradual reaction to the 'paganism' of the content, and also by the impossibility of verifying its historicity in any scientific way. All this emphasis on form was changed in the nineteenth century by the coming of modern scientific methods, applied to history and language, and by the progress of the science of archaeology. For us this has meant whole new areas of knowledge: epigraphy, papyrology, numismatics, and others. History and literature have been much enriched. This emphasis on content has brought a corresponding trend toward study of the *realia* and the acquisition of the methods by which they may be known. That this tendency has not been primarily healthy for the Classics is the result of the simple fact that the Classics do not excel in the *realia*. It is doubtful, for example, whether the study of Cretan plumbing has as

much value as modern. In this process—which has taken place in other fields—we have forgotten the true meaning of an arts course. It is high time that we return to a real marriage of form and content, presenting the Classics as arts, and using archaeology and the sciences only as methods.²

What has been said of the principal emphasis for the liberal arts is basically true for the other courses. Although more than the others the liberal arts as such deal primarily with the humanities, nevertheless, if we are educating human beings and not mere automatons, something of their inherent values will be requisite for all degrees. In all of them the Classics can make a contribution: to a world literature course, for example, or Classical literature could be contained within the framework of a course in Classical civilization or history of civilization. Whatever the setting may be, some literature should be included. This is the birthright of all men, and education—especially in the higher level—should never become so vocational that it is utterly excluded.

If we turn our attention to the offerings of Greek and Latin departments, we shall be able to see more clearly the applications of the above principles.

In the first place, if our emphasis is really on the humanities, then the study of language must be a means and not an end. Whether the method be functional or formal, or a mixture of the two, the ends must be mutually understood from the very first day: the reading, comprehension, and appreciation of connected passages, however simple. Careful and repeated practice in pronunciation, diction, and phrasing are extremely important, if these ends are ever to be achieved. If we wish to find good reading material suitable for these purposes, we can do no better than to turn to the Greek New Testament and the Latin Vulgate. The use of the former is well established and has proved itself pedagogically. The use of the latter, subject to careful selection, would prove equally advisable and advantageous. Where in any language teaching, at least at the present time, do we begin with the old masters and proceed to the present? The pedagogically

sound method is the reverse of the historical and chronological order. It has even been advocated that in a longer curriculum, beginning in high school, we would do well to begin the study of Latin and Greek with selections from the later periods instead of the Classical. To whatever extent the method is attempted, it is simply true that the learning of the vocabulary and forms necessary to reading is considerably facilitated by beginning with some period of the languages in which the structure more nearly resembles our own. Then, as this becomes familiar, we can gradually work back into the Classical era. Meanwhile, the most important thing will have been acquired: the ability to read. It is to be hoped that with this method something of the rate of speed of reading modern foreign languages will result. Once this method has been mastered, there is some possibility that the student will approach a sentence of Classical Latin or Greek intelligently, as a statement which presumably has meaning and can be comprehended, not as a hopeless jumble which must be unraveled, or, even worse, upon which a given translation is to be superimposed. If this is all that we can achieve, we had better stop wasting our time!³

In choosing the actual authors in the college curriculum, an effort should be made to include the best works of the chief literary types. In general, the material read in high school should be avoided. In the case of Cicero, some of the other works, particularly the essays, might well be included, and one of the speeches could also be done with greater attention to rhetorical analysis and to the historical and political background. Whatever selections are chosen, enough material should be read to give some real appreciation of the author. If one of the virtues of literature lies in its ability to portray a whole human personality, then our study of literature should aim to convey this completeness of effect, and not be purely anthological in character.⁴ To this end supplementary reading and reading in translation are necessary. If parts of the *Aeneid* and of the *Iliad* are chosen, for example, is there any reason why the whole should not be read, at least in English? Furthermore, the

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curriculum of authors should not end with the Classical period, for such a procedure gives a completely distorted picture of Latin and Greek. Nothing could have a more salutary effect upon Classical studies than an appreciation of the permanence and continuity of the tradition in medieval and even modern times. In selection and presentation alike the chief criterion should be universality, the supreme quality of Classical literature, with enough background given to deepen appreciation, to give an awareness of differences, and prevent unwarranted deductions and erroneous interpretations.

The most natural way in which to supplement the offering in the languages themselves is in presenting courses in Classical literature in English. These should certainly not be offered apologetically or in desperation, but energetically and with a positive conviction of the merits of such study—or not at all. Since the reading rate in Latin and Greek is what it is, the inclusion of reading in translation even in the language courses themselves, as was suggested above, is a real necessity and requires no more than that for its apology. The great value of whole courses in English lies in the fact that they enable one to achieve a greater perspective, to read more widely, and to emphasize content. Courses in the great books of all literature are being given in many places and it is a mistake for us not to make the contribution for which we are qualified and to pass the opportunity on to those who are perhaps not so well trained, but more eager and enthusiastic. Many groups throughout the country, often in a non-academic atmosphere, are springing up spontaneously to read and study some of these masterpieces, in many cases philosophic works. It is a very healthy sign that so many are interested in what the content of the Classics has to offer. Discussions lead naturally into politics, history, religion, and morality. Questions arising from such discussions are an integral part of literature, and are the very stuff which makes literature a living thing. To ask, for example, whether Oedipus was a good man, is to get at the very heart of tragedy.⁵

Such a course as I have outlined, Classical literature in English with sufficient background

in history and civilization, is in my opinion the one suited to make the best contribution not only to the liberal arts but to all degrees. Many would prefer courses in the civilization itself, especially for degrees other than the liberal arts. While this preference is not without some justification, nevertheless, if such a course is the required one or the only one offered, it should certainly contain some of the literature. Students in the Classics, and many others, could profit by a course in ancient history, including the Orient as well as Greece and Rome. Such a course, while it does not present the literature as such in the classroom, really implies it (as Rostovtzeff⁶ has pointed out) and should require it as part of the outside reading. All such courses have the obvious value inherent in presenting all the various contributions which ancient civilization has made to our own.

These contributions are so important that frequently a single one is made the subject of a whole course. In language, for example, the debt of English vocabulary to Greek and Latin is often recognized by courses in etymology and technical terminology. Their usefulness to English and the sciences is obvious, and while this separate treatment is of advantage even to Classical students themselves, it should not supplant the practice of introducing etymology as a device for learning Greek and Latin vocabulary. Courses in semantics likewise have great value for all liberal studies.

Classical and comparative mythology as separate studies are not only interesting because of the nature of the myths themselves and the light which they throw upon ancient beliefs, but also because of the continuous use of myth in literature and art. Mythology, therefore, can form an excellent introduction to many of the subjects of the other two, as well as a natural point of orientation for comparative studies in these fields.

For the sheer intrinsic quality of its productions, Classical art is second only to the literature, if not its peer. It must have a place, if not alone, at least in any course in ancient history, civilization, or culture, as well as in mythology. In the presentation the emphasis should natu-

rally be upon the art, not merely the archaeology in the narrower sense, with its problems of provenience, statistical measurements, dating, and authorship. These are some of the tools, but in a general course, first consideration should be given to aesthetic criticism.

If the preceding fields have been adequately covered, we might possibly indulge in such luxuries as courses in private life. I will not deny that they have a place in schools of engineering and of fine arts, but in the liberal arts they should never receive undue prominence and for them to be the sole offering is nothing short of positive humiliation to the real dignity of our field. This practice can only be justified in the spirit of catering to the materialism of our age, and if the Classics are to be kept alive in this way they will be presented in a thoroughly false light with no awareness of the intrinsic contributions of the civilization, and might just as well be allowed to die!

Many universities, and even some colleges, will find it possible to add to the above in the upper level of the undergraduate schools: public antiquities (politics, law, and government), philosophy, and religion. Though perhaps not presented in separate courses, these subjects, particularly the first and second, would in any case be introduced in the general course in civilization. Greek philosophy, one of the greatest contributions of the ancient world, is often totally neglected. In some colleges whole departments of philosophy have vanished; we may frequently find ourselves the only ones offering anything in this field either in the original or in English.

To summarize, then, our basic offering, both in the original languages and in English, should cover the literature, which should be presented against a sufficient background of the civilization. Courses should also be offered which would include government, art, and philosophy. If opportunity is provided and the staff permits, the offering could be expended in other fields: etymology, mythology, religion, private and public antiquities, and others.

The question naturally presents itself: are our teachers prepared to fulfill these tasks? The present curriculum of our graduate schools tends

to be highly specialized, taking for granted a much broader background than undergraduates possess. When students finish their education they most frequently find positions in small colleges where they may be the only persons dealing with anything before the Fall of Rome. This is a situation which for the most part they are ill-prepared to meet. I do not mean to suggest that our graduate training become more 'vocational,' so to speak, even though in this case it means becoming more general, at the expense of all specialized training. I do mean to suggest that courses in literature and literary criticism should certainly be presented on a graduate level, and without condescension. Furthermore, can we really expect most students to do much with our present required outside reading lists in Latin and Greek for the Master's and Doctor's degree? Finally, how many of the very common types of general undergraduate courses which are outlined above are our students prepared to teach?

Thus far the humanities, as they are commonly conceived. I have already presented the pedagogical case for the inclusion of medieval Greek and Latin in the earlier stages, and have advocated the extension of the later curriculum to include the medieval secular authors as part of the liberal arts and the humanities. There is an equally good case for the inclusion of Christian writings on the basis of their content, as well as pedagogically or from the point of view of the history of literary forms. Whatever we conceive Christianity to be, this much it is—a fact, and as such it demands inclusion in our courses. Two of the languages of Christianity are Latin and Greek, and in form and content many of the Christian writings in these languages are masterpieces, and have too long been absent from our curriculum. The purely pagan revival of Classical studies in the Renaissance failed and passed away. There are many among us who are in effect asking for another such revival of learning. The Classics will abide more truly in company with the great stream of Christian tradition, which has always been their truest friend.

NOTES

¹ Revision of a paper presented at the meeting of the Classical Association of New England at Middletown, Rhode Island, March 29, 1946.

² The purely formal emphasis is by no means dead, and we still see students learning the figures of rhetoric, for example, completely abstracted from the context. It is small wonder, therefore, that in their own speeches their use of these figures is thoroughly inept and frequently inane.

³ It should go without saying that while most of us recognize the suitability of the Classical languages for the teaching of grammar in general, to make them carry the sole burden of such instruction is extremely unfair. It is high time that English departments and even modern foreign languages should take back some of this burden which they have cast upon us.

⁴ It should be clear that if our emphasis is sociological rather than humanistic, the case for the study of the literature in the original languages is considerably weaker. Most of the social values can be obtained very adequately by the use of translations.

⁵ This question was asked by Scott Buchanan, Dean of St. John's College, at a discussion on the *Oedipus* at another college. The 'literary' critics of the faculty descended on him en masse for asking such an irrelevant question!

⁶ *History of the Ancient World*, Introduction.

WILLIAM TONGUE

COLLEGE OF THE HOLY CROSS

PLUTARCH, ON THE DEATH OF CYRUS¹

In his life of Artoxerxes (sic), IX,4, Plutarch states that, although Xenophon has reported simply and concisely (*ἀπλῶς καὶ συντόμως*) on the death of Cyrus, nevertheless, since Xenophon himself was not present—obviously located near his friend Proxenus among the Greek hoplites—there is nothing to prevent the passing in review of the several accounts by Deinon and Ctesias.

Before analyzing the reports of the two latter it might not be amiss first to digest the report of Xenophon as given in his *Anabasis*, Alpha, VIII.

Cyrus leaps down from his wagon at the news of impending battle, puts on his breast-plate, mounts his horse, assumes his two javelins and issues his orders for battle stations (3). In the center of the line—if the *lectio incerta* (*κατὰ τὸ μέσον*) may be read—Cyrus and about 600 of his cavalry took their stand, Cyrus alone going bareheaded into battle, if, following Wyttenbach, one may delete the passage *λέγεται . . . διακινδυνεύειν* (6). Cyrus vainly orders Clearchus, through Pigres, to attack the King's center (11). Then

follows the conversation, their last, between Cyrus and Xenophon about the watchword (14ff.). Despite the progress of the Greeks, Cyrus waits for the King to move (21). Cyrus, fearing an encircling movement of his own left flank, charges ahead (*ἐλαύνει ἀντίος*) with his 600 cavalry and routs the 6000 cavalry (VII, 11) under Artagereses, slaying the latter with his own hand (24). When all his 600 were scattered in pursuit except a very few table-companions Cyrus attacks the King and wounds him in the breast through the breast-plate (25). An unknown (TIS) assailant strikes Cyrus violently under the eye even as Cyrus is wounding the King (28). Cyrus falls dead in the confused fighting (27).

It is highly probable that this is the account to which Plutarch refers, for it is not only 'simple and concise' but removes Xenophon from the actual scene of death.

Xenophon, therefore, may be said to have been a close contemporary, though not actually an eye-witness. Ctesias, however, as reported by Xenophon and Plutarch, was both. It is chronologically impossible for either Deinon or Plutarch to have been either.

To the recording of Deinon's account Plutarch next devotes X, which is an amount of space less than half that given to XI, the account of Ctesias.

According to Deinon, Cyrus, after the fall of Artagereses, charges the King, wounds his horse and brings the man himself to the ground. Remounted, the King is again dismounted by Cyrus. His third charge is countercharged by the King, who smites him with a spear. Cyrus was also 'hit by the attendants of the King. Thus Cyrus fell, as some say, by a wound at the hands of the King, but as sundry others have it, from the blow of a Carian fellow (*Καρὸς ἀνθρώπου*) (obviously one of the aforesaid 'attendants') who was rewarded by the King for the exploit. The Persians call the Carians (*τοὺς Κάραις*) themselves cocks as a result of this affair.'

It is useful to note here that Deinon expresses doubt as to who killed Cyrus, dividing the honors between the King and a Carian who was subsequently rewarded by him for this act.

With the exception of XIV, 3, 4, 5, which also are concerned with this affair, there is no other mention of Carians by Plutarch in his *Life of Artoxerxes*.

Before passing to the account given by Plutarch as that of Ctesias, it is pertinent to record the only two places in Xenophon's *Anabasis* where Ctesias is mentioned by name. They are both in Alpha, VIII, one in 26, the other in 27. In 26 Ctesias claims to have cured the wound inflicted by Cyrus in the breast of the King. In 27 Ctesias records the number of followers who fell in the duel between the brothers. For he himself was in attendance upon the King. For Xenophon knew that Ctesias was in attendance upon the King, since he makes mention of him and had evidently read his works (XIII, 4).

Plutarch begins and ends XI with a professional sneer at Ctesias for the latter's prolixity. The account runs somewhat as follows: After the slaying of Artagerses, Cyrus and the King charge each other silently. Then there ensues a futile passage-at-arms, whereupon Cyrus wounds the King in the breast, dismounting him. Ctesias and others rescue the King by conveying him to a nearby hill. In the growing dusk a young Persian, Mithridates, wounds Cyrus near the eye with his spear, dismounting him. The saddle-cloth of the horse of Cyrus was retrieved by the squire of Mithridates. Some of the eunuchs of Cyrus were leading him along semi-conscious when the party was encountered by 'some Caunians, low and poverty-stricken men who followed the King's army to do menial service.' 'Accordingly, one of them, not knowing who Cyrus was, ventured to smite him from behind with his spear. The vein in the ham of Cyrus was ruptured and he fell, and at the same time struck his wounded temple against a stone, and so died.' So far so good. We have three accounts in Plutarch; that of Xenophon mentioned and characterized, but not outlined; that of Deinon, outlined; and that of Ctesias, both characterized and outlined. It is even more impossible for us of the twentieth century to determine how he died than it was for Plutarch of the first century. From the conflicting details of the three accounts we may make each of us his own selection according to what he considers most probable.

At the end of XII, i.e., 3 and 4, we again meet with 'one of those low Caunians' (τῶν Καυνίων ἐκείνων τῶν κακοβίων) and the episode of the dirty water brought to the thirsty King and the promised reward.

Rewards and Punishments occupies XIV. 'When he had found out the Caunian who had given him the skin of water, he raised him from obscurity and poverty to honour and wealth.' As a result of his pride and jealousy the King wishes to establish himself as the sole slayer of Cyrus. Accordingly, he rewards Mithridates who, according to Ctesias, had merely smitten Cyrus. The reward was accompanied with certain sinister 'thanks for having retrieved the saddle-cloth of the horse of Cyrus,' though this was actually an act of the squire of Mithridates. That Mithridates subsequently suffered the so-called torture of the boats is beside the point. The tale of his downfall, however, is distinctly pertinent. The chief eunuch of Parysatis, namely Sparamizes, goads Mithridates in his cups and entices him into contradicting the King and stating that, though he himself had had nothing to do with the saddle-cloth, it was none other than he himself who had slain Cyrus by striking him in the temple near the eye. This statement from the lips of Mithridates in XV largely retells the tale as told by Ctesias in XI. It is from Plutarch, however, that there comes the added detail that this blow of Mithridates was more effectual than that of Artagerses.

At this juncture Plutarch (or one of his transcribers) becomes thoroughly confused and confusing, for he mixes up the *Carrians* of Deinon with the *Caunians* of Ctesias in a most lamentable and nearly hopeless manner. In XIV, 3, Plutarch states that the King sent a gift also to the *Carian* who had wounded Cyrus in the ham. Now, the only other mention so far of Carians in his *Life of Artoxerxes* was that of X, 3, where Deinon gives us the alternative of a *Carian* and the King as the slayer of Cyrus. And there the *Carian* brought everlasting glory to all subsequent Carians by this exploit. But there are no further details.

It is Ctesias, in XI, who mentions the Caunian

who smote Cyrus with his spear *in the ham* from the rear. In this passage, XIV, 3-5, either the phrase, *in the ham* must be deleted or the name *Carian* must be changed to *Caunian*, despite the fact that Caunos is a well-known city in Caria. Inasmuch as the Carian in Deinon's account (X, 3) was rewarded, and inasmuch as the three other mentions of Caunians in the life of Artaxerxes describe them as low varlets, it would seem preferable to alter the text in this passage from *Carians* to *Caunians*. This would also permit the retention of the phrase *in the ham* and would be thoroughly in harmony with the tale of Ctesias as told in XI. Furthermore, the fortunes of this poor wight seemed to have turned his head, a situation not unbecoming a miserable Caunian. Finally, Plutarch mentions Ctesias twenty times in this Life whereas Deinon is mentioned only nine times, a bit of quantitative evidence that would not oppose the possibility of qualitative superiority in his opinion.

(One would like to add as corroborating evidence that half of the truth spoken by the King to Mithridates to the effect that the latter was the first to report to the former the death of Cyrus. This mission is attributed by Plutarch to Artaxyras, the King's Eye. Unfortunately this item, though recorded by Plutarch, is not derived by him either from Deinon or from Ctesias.)

The answer to the question 'Who killed Cock Robin' must, of course, remain both unknown and unknowable, at least from the evidence in this Life of Plutarch.

Half a millennium after the event Plutarch dramatizes the Persian Mithridates as the killer. More than half a century after the event Deinon leaves us our choice between the King and a Carian. The two contemporary authors have each his favorite, Ctesias a Caunian and Xenophon an unknown. Were I compelled to choose from among these five I should probably nominate the Caunian of Ctesias. But battles are always confusing activities.

As for the treatment of the corpse of Cyrus, we have several bits of evidence. In the *Anabasis* Alpha, X, 1, we find a brief note to the effect that the head and right hand were cut off. In Plutarch this detail is treated more discursively

in XIII, 2, and as follows: 'And after he had halted at the dead body of Cyrus, and its right hand and head had been cut off (in accordance with a law of the Persians) he ordered the head to be brought to him, and grasping it by the hair, which was long and bushy, he showed it to those who were still wavering and disposed to fly.'

When we again revert to the matter of Rewards and Punishments we find XVII devoted to the story of how the implacable Parysatis caused to be flayed alive one Masabates, and that one of the King's eunuchs had actually amputated the head and the right hand of her beloved Cyrus. Now Parysatis had won Masabates from the King at a game of dice.

NOTE

¹ For Plutarch the Teubner text of Sintenis is used; for Xenophon the S.C.B.O. of Marchant; all quotations in translation are by Perrin from the Loeb Library.

THOMAS MEANS

BOWDOIN COLLEGE

OVID, *IBIS* 115-20

sisque miser semper nec sis miserabilis ulli:
gaudeat adversis femina virque tuis.
accedat lacrimis odium, dignusque puteris
qui, mala cum tuleris plurima, plura feras.
sitque, quod est rarum, solito defecta favore,
fortunae facies invidiosa tuae.

The first four lines of this passage offer little difficulty. The first line—the paronomasia is untranslatable—means, 'May you always be wretched without ever being pitied by anyone.' But a wretched person is a proper object of pity unless pity is excluded by *ἐπιχαιρεκαλία* (Ar., *Rhet.* 1387a. 3-5). Hence Ovid implements the curse of the first line by the more explicit curse of the second: 'May both woman and man rejoice in your afflictions.' Though *femina virque* may connote nothing more than 'everyone', the inclusion of *femina* in the subject may strengthen the curse by providing against the chance that the commonplace belief concerning the more compassionate nature of the female sex might operate in the accursed one's favor. The second couplet ('may hate be heaped on your tears, and, though you have borne many woes, may you be thought to deserve to bear still more') does more than re-

peat the curse of the first couplet, for it adds a new emotion: hate. Aristotle, distinguishing anger from hatred (*Rhet.* 1382a. 14), says that the man who hates will never feel pity for the object of his hatred. Plutarch, in his essay *De invidia et odio* (§6 = *Moralia* 538c), marks as a distinction between envy and hate the fact that a man's misfortunes stop people from envying him but not from hating him. For people continue to hate their enemies even after they have been abased, but no one envies one who is unfortunate. As for the relation of hate to ἐπικαιρεκακία, I have not found a statement. Aristotle distinguishes between hatred and anger: anger is felt with respect to individuals, hatred with respect to types. One is angry at Socrates, but one hates a thief. Anger may be healed by time, but not hatred (*Rhet.* 1382a.1 ff.). Further, Plutarch, in the essay *De Cohibenda Ira*, says that anger (θυμός) seems to be compounded of the seeds of all the passions: from envy it has drawn ἐπικαιρεκακία. I think it likely, therefore, that Ovid assumes that his readers will recognize *odium* to be a more general, more powerful, more unwavering kind of ill-will than the ἐπικαιρεκακία of the first couplet of this passage.

On the last couplet Ellis comments extensively and offers two interpretations. The first he sums up in translation as follows: 'May the cruel aspect of the fortune lack, as seldom happens, the sympathy ordinarily granted to the miserable.' The second, his preference, appears as follows: 'May the aspect of thy fortune, as seldom happens, rouse the disgust of men when the smiles of the world no longer attend it.' 'Rouse the disgust' translates *sit . . . invidiosa* rather freely, considering that Ellis seems to take it to mean, 'rouse the envy.' For he comments: *Nam felicius fortuna invidiosa per se est, multorum invidiam in se trahit: rarius invidiosus est miser. . .* There are two points at issue in these two interpretations. The first is whether *solito defecta favore* or *invidiosa* is predicative. Quite apart from the exact meaning of *invidiosa*, the movement of the lines, to my feeling, makes *invidiosa* predicative. I observe also that Housman adds a comma after *favore*, thereby indicating, I think, that he took *solito defecta favore* to be

parenthetically attributive and not predicative.

The second point at issue is the interpretation of *solito . . . favore*. Does it refer to the pity which wretchedness generally arouses or to the adulation to which the accursed one was formerly accustomed? Ellis cites Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 4.1.9, *Est enim naturalis favor pro laborantibus*; but even without such support I should be inclined to the former interpretation. We may then translate: 'May the aspect of thy fortune, lacking, as seldom happens, the sympathy accorded to the wretched, continue to rouse envy.' This envy that is undiminished by the downfall of its object would not differ from the ἐπικαιρεκακία of the first couplet. But it is possible that *invidiosa* suggests as distinct from the kind of envy that thrives gleefully on its object's misery the kind of envy associated with the evil eye, the blighting envy of gods and men. Such envy almost invariably ceases to operate when its object has been sufficiently humiliated (cf., e.g., Thucyd. 7.77.4). Then Ovid would be virtually saying: 'May that law of divine and human psychology, whereby envy disappears with its object's ruin, fail to operate in your case. May every stage of your fortune be subject to envy.' It is perhaps worth mentioning that Schopenhauer avails himself of this psychological principle to support his contention that spontaneous sympathy is the foundation of all morality (*Grundlage der Moral* 19.6).

EDWARD BOUCHER STEVENS

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REVIEWS

Post-Aristophanic Comedy. Studies in the Social Outlook of Middle and New Comedy at both Athens and Rome. By PAUL SHANER DUNKIN. 192 pp. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, XXXI, nos. 3-4, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press. 1946.) \$2.50.

Here is a book which is bound to receive considerable attention, and which raises, at first glance, great expectations; not only is it the first full-length book on ancient comedy to appear in

several years, but also it embodies many of the views and hitherto unpublished comments of the late Professor Oldfather. The major portion of the work is a detailed study of the social outlook, or attitude toward their *milieu* revealed by Menander, Plautus, and Terence. With commendable caution Dunkin relegates authors found only in fragments to an appendix, with the warning that his conclusions here are at best tentative; and he is frankly skeptical of ingenious modern reconstructions of lost Greek plays. Finally, he states that he is aware of the difficulties involved in determining when a playwright speaks for himself and when his dramatic creations are speaking 'in character.'

Yet, despite the careful limitation of the range of the study to evidence which may be considered certain and fairly objective, the work seems to this reviewer to be highly subjective and uncritical. For one thing, Dunkin pays no attention to his own warning about the possibility of statements being 'in character.' Almost all remarks in the plays are taken as reflecting the playwright's own attitude, although it seems clear to me that many of the remarks of Smicrines in the *Arbitrants* (to take but one example) are meant to characterize him as a tight-fisted, crusty old curmudgeon. Further, the section on Menander's attitudes and philosophy is based almost entirely on quotations from the fragments, where we know neither the context nor the character of the speakers. Finally, almost all of Dunkin's conclusions are colored by a modern, pseudo-scientific ideology. He frankly states his own views: 'The writer is convinced that the only meritorious social outlook is that of the socially useful man; that is, the man whose activities tend to promote the welfare of human society as a whole' (#23; references are to numbered paragraphs throughout). Without disagreeing at all with this statement, your reviewer sees no need to castigate, as Dunkin does, all writers who possessed property or accepted patronage or failed to paint men of means as unmitigated, capitalistic scoundrels.

To review briefly Dunkin's method and some of his conclusions: in each of the three main chapters we find: First, a brief statement of the

author's background and life. Then follows a long analysis of the Characters; these are divided into two groups, Rich Men and Poor Men, the dividing line between all men being apparently only a matter of wealth. This economic dichotomy makes strange bedfellows; classed with the typical Old Man and Young Man of respectable middle-class position we find the Procurer, the Banker, and the Soldier. Under Poor Men we have Slaves, Parasites, and Courtesans. After Characters Dunkin takes up Attitudes: Invective (i.e., use of direct personal satire against living individuals), Mythology and Religion, and Philosophy. A brief conclusion sums up each chapter. The evidence has been diligently collected but unfortunately is discussed and evaluated with an almost total absence of a sense of humor.

Menander and Terence fare very badly. In Menander, we are told, the Rich Man is always the hero of the play; the Slave and Poor Man never have major roles and generally 'serve only to furnish the necessary hindrances to the smooth moving of the plot.' Dunkin states that the Rich Man is the hero 'because maintaining the honor of men of property supplies the motivation for the plot' (#63). I might suggest that they are the central figures merely because their way of life offered Menander the best material for the study of character in ethical, but amusing situations. In Terence, the Rich Old Man comes to the fore; the chief human virtues are embodied in him. These 'virtues' are chiefly to be found in respectability, and money is the standard of respectability. In both Terence and Menander, Poor Men have no influence on the plot, they are unsympathetically presented, or else their poverty is 'prettified.' In case a poor man does appear who is portrayed in a sympathetic light, he is found on closer examination to be merely 'Stage-Poor', i.e., not so rich as the genuine 'heroes' of the play. Apparently in Terence, at least, all Poor Men are represented as bad. The philosophy of New Comedy is summed up and dismissed in a trenchant sentence: '*Ne quid nimis!*' That same dreary philosophy of Greek New Comedy—curious assortment of a fatalism, resignation, optimism, the

golden mean, trite saws— . . . ' (#343); and later: 'Moderation: the one virtue possible to weak and little men' (#352). One may note in passing that the Greek emphasis on moderation and the mean goes back as far as the lyric poets, and appears in many a noble passage written in the great age of Greece. Plautus, for whom Dunkin feels a well-merited admiration, fares better; Plautus apparently travestied the conventional Greek idea of the Gentleman in such scamps as the old gallants of the *Mercator* or the *Casina*, and he obviously enjoyed making the clever, intriguing slave the center of the action. In addition, he paints his Procurers in the blackest possible colors and makes his Soldiers highly ridiculous. He laughs Philosophy to scorn, and his attitudes are those of a poor man writing for a living. It is, in Dunkin's view, a virtue for Plautus to have written plays for money, but somehow discreditable for Terence to have profited from the *Eunuchus*!

There is a great deal more of similar import, but limitations of space prevent a detailed analysis. In brief, it appears to this reviewer that Dunkin has consistently misinterpreted and distorted the evidence in the plays to suit his own particular views. The work is, however, extremely interesting, despite the irritation which it is bound to cause. I suggest that readers of the book keep the fragments and texts of Middle and New Comedy close at hand to check Dunkin's generalizations by a fresh and unprejudiced reading of some of the plays. I think that such a reader will find at least some of the following facts to be true: in several cases, Menander and Terence have deliberately made the Rich Man the object of well-deserved ridicule on the part of Slaves and Poor Men. The punishment of Slaves (see #85 and 213) is an inevitable feature of a slave-owning society and its appearance on the comic stage reveals nothing about the attitude of the particular playwright. The Spineless Young Man, Plautus' 'most damning work' on the Rich Young Man (#162; why not 'most amusing'?) is not necessarily a creation of Plautus; there are several very entertaining specimens in Terence, presumably from Greek originals. The Parasite of Middle Com-

edy does not necessarily live in a 'low-life land of gouged eyes and cauliflower ears' (#223); see Antiphanes 80 K, 144 K, and Diodorus 2 K for the Parasite as a smooth, professional operator, by no means driven to his servile trade by the economic pressure of a cruel society. Phormio in Terence is the hero of the action, and Terence probably meant us to sympathize with him against the tight-fisted, hard-hearted Demipho and the timid Chremes. It is not likely that the elaborate and entertaining military metaphors in the mouths of Plautine slaves mean that 'Plautus shows an instinctive, if only partially conscious reaction against war' (#259); they probably reflect the major interest of Plautus' audience. It seems equally unlikely that 'with even more vigorous buffoonery Plautus assailed religion, which has ever been the stronghold of the man in power' (#266).

Finally, I do not believe that a reader's understanding of New Comedy and its social background will be enhanced by such statements as these: '. . . Menander plasters the wall of his smug cottage with tritely philosophizing maxims' (#120). 'Slavery had given Terence the habit of dependence on rich men for freedom, wealth, and social prestige. Dependence for ideas was inevitable' (#287-8; a typical and Tacitean innuendo). 'The medieval peasant, whose lust to own, inbred of necessity by the fight of many generations against cruelest want, found at last allies in democracy, industrialism, and capitalism; and then, when it had sated his immediate needs, drove him to grasp yet again, blindly and endlessly, after more wealth, more respectability. But in his very victory he had protected his children from the need to fight and from the strength which fighting brings. And in this strange new world of his own creation he sees them grow soft and philosophic and find life futile. . . . The stolid Greek Peasant's tireless, endless pursuit of wealth and place through all the long years since Marathon had succeeded only too thoroughly. The world was drenched in Eastern gold and Eastern luxury; men were going mad about it. The ancient virtues that had made success possible were cracking under the strain of that same success' (#136-7).

Whether or not this slightly over-wrought prose offers an accurate picture of the development of the peasant, medieval or Greek, I leave to professional historians to decide; but I am certain that it contributes nothing toward an understanding of Middle and New Comedy.

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The Contribution of Latin to English. By CHARLES BARRETT BROWN. x, 246 pages (The Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, Tennessee, 1946) \$2.75.

The purpose of this hand-book, as indicated in the *Introduction* (p. vii), is 'to provide a direct and economical method for the acquisition, or review, of the most important segment of the Latin element in English.' The author lists 'every Latin term that has produced a word in English of any consequence, and under each Latin term groups all important English words that derive from it'. These 'terms', as the compiler calls them,—Latin nouns, adjectives, verb-forms—are listed alphabetically; and under each Latin form he groups English words that are basically related to the Latin words. A brief summary of affixes and combining forms is placed at the beginning of the hand-book.

No complete treatment of the function of the prefix and suffix in English is to be found, even in the better dictionaries, and so it is not strange that Professor Brown's summary is, in places, inaccurate and incomplete. For example, he gives no meaning for the suffixes *-able*, *-ible*, *-ble*, *-bility*, and *-al*, *-alism*, *-alistic*, etc. The noun suffix *-ary* 'place for' is listed, while the adjective suffix *-ary* 'of', 'pertaining to', is passed by. Under the suffix *-ous* the author fails to indicate that *-ous* is commonly used in English merely to form English adjectives from Latin adjectives, e.g., 'infamous' (L. *infamis*). The same criticism applies to his treatment of other adjective suffixes, e.g., *-al*, as in 'coeval' (L. *coaevus*).

Unless the student has had some training in Latin and in word-analysis, he will be in the dark about many matters. For example, he will not know the force of *-escent* in 'effervescent' (p. 59); he will wonder how 'execrate' came to mean

'curse', when the text gives only the meaning 'holy' under the form *sacer* (p. 173); if he knows Latin, he will ask why the genitive case of third-declension nouns, where the base of the English word appears in that case, is given in some instances and not in others (e.g., in *rumen*, *senex*). Moreover, the essential part of the various English words—the base—is neglected. The relationship between English and Latin words is, after all, primarily one of bases and basic meanings, and these should most certainly have been stressed. Take, for example, the treatment of *agere* and its derivatives, which Brown groups under two heads as follows: (1) ACTUS, p.p. of AGERE, to do; ACTIO, action; ACTIVUS (p. 2); (2) AGERE, do; act; drive; make (p. 4).

The three principal bases of Latin verbs which appear in English words are: (1) the present infinitive base; (2) the present participial base; (3) the perfect participial base. I should, therefore, suggest the following as a more exact and informing arrangement: AG-ERE, pres. inf., 'to do', 'to act'; AGENS, AGENT-IS, pres. ptepl. 'doing', 'acting'; ACT-US, perf. ptepl., 'done', 'having been done'. Then, under each verb form I should give the appropriate derivatives, e.g., *ag-ile*, *ag-il-ity*; *agent-i-al*, *re-agent*; *act-ion*, *act-ive*, with the base indicated wherever possible. Words in which the base has been altered through the influence of French could be listed separately.

The strictures which I have passed on Brown's book may lead the reader to suppose that I disapprove of the book and its purpose. On the contrary, I have found his collection of words useful in teaching courses in etymology, and it is for this reason, primarily, that I should recommend the book to teachers. In the hands of a student who knows no Latin and who is unfamiliar with the procedures of word-analysis, the book will be confusing.

ELI E. BURRISS

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The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin Writers of the Netherlands to the year 1800. By JAMES HUTTON. xi, 822 pp. (Cor-

nell Studies in Classical Philology, XXVIII, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1946.) \$5.00.

Some years ago Professor Hutton brought out an admirable study of the Anthology in Italy; now he adds to his laurels by giving us a thorough and painstaking account of the effect of the Anthology on the Neo-Latin poets of France and Holland and on the vernacular poets of France. The work is really three volumes in one. First, we have a summary introduction, a synthesis of Professor Hutton's findings; then we have a chronological directory of the French and Dutch poets who succumbed to the charm of the Anthology; finally, we are presented with a register of the epigrams and an index of their Gallic or Dutch transformations. The needs of the reader are so carefully foreseen that nothing is wanting. Professor Hutton's general conclusions are of the greatest interest.

Though Lascaris' edition was available at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there is no influence of the Anthology in France before 1513. The Badius' edition came in 1531, but there were few commentaries and no good Latin version for generations. Even the discovery of the Palatine recension by Salmasius caused no great stir; a few of the new epigrams leaked into circulation, but the complete version had to wait for the ministrations of R. F. P. Brunck. The Greek epigrams were probably transmitted by the pedagogues, but there is no way to prove this. There are, however, volumes of sections, and individual epigrams find their way into the textual apparatus of other authors. Nonetheless, the Anthology was taken up by the Neo-Latin poets. In general, they made translations, but they also followed other more original directions. From them the French poets of the sixteenth century took over, but the vogue began to perish early in the seventeenth century. The Greek epigram was not strong, hot, sharp, or pointed enough for the great French epigrammatists of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. Only the Jesuits, Hutton thinks, cultivated the Anthology in their classical curriculum. Martial was king; only those who were opposed to 'point', who thought that the epigram

need not make the reader laugh, were friends of the Anthology. The situation is illuminated by the general coolness of scholars to the Palatine text and by the decline of Hellenic studies in France. Then, shortly before the Revolution, came the *resorggimento* led by Chenier, who found in the literature of Greece and in the new edition of the Anthology a true source of poetic inspiration.

The lines of this study are sharp and suggestive; scholarship is no barren thing, no arid desert on which pedants cluster like so many sandflies. It has, as Professor Hutton demonstrates, close associations with literature and artistic taste. The graphs of one intellectual activity, to borrow a cliché from the economists, may be superimposed on the graphs of the other. But Professor Hutton has done more than this. He has provided us with the raw material of esthetic speculation. If one selects one of the highly popular epigrams, and studies it as it is shaped and reshaped by a series of poetic minds, one has a lesson in the artistic temper. A scholar simply translates, but a poet remakes. Why does Ronsard remake in one way, Bouchet in another? Is it the age, the poet, the milieu? Professor Hutton's book can be the starting point of many critical essays.

But Classical scholars can take lessons from this work. The dry bones are not being tiresomely ground and reground. This is a new field, a live one which demands the most discriminating sort of learning and repays the scholar with a sense of having done something new and important. Professor Hutton has shown the way; one can hope that others will follow.

DON CAMERON ALLEN

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ABSTRACTS OF ARTICLES

Prepared under the supervision of Professor Charles T. Murphy of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

LINGUISTICS. GRAMMAR. METRICS.

MUGLER, CH. *Le Participe et la Subordonnée Relative*. Study of participles with specific functions of: (1) ornamental or characteristic epithet; (2) definition, e.g., of

the role of an individual or thing; (3) recall or anticipation of facts or circumstances; comparison of such participles with relative clauses which perform same functions, in effort to determine basis of choice. Participles of (3) very rare in Homer, in Herodotus, and later, such participial phrases usually preceded by article to avoid ambiguity; use of article little developed in Homer and not found with participles, hence relative clauses employed instead. With (1) and (2), where semantic functions of two constructions are identical and unambiguous, choice clearly determined by stylistic principles: appropriateness of longer or more concise statement, euphony, and in Homer, metrical convenience or necessity.

RPh 16 (1942) 146-60

(Taylor)

ROUILLARD, GERMAINE. *Une Etymologie de Michel Attaliat*. Bonn ed. p. 202, ὁ φούνδαξ, used of emporium for purchase and sale of wheat, sold at price imposed by state, directed by φουνδακάριος; use here involving play on φούνδα, from Latin *funda*; relation of *funda*, *fundicus*, Arabian *foundouk* in eleventh-century trade.

RPh 16 (1942) 63-6

(Taylor)

THOMAS, FRANCOIS. *Sur une Manière d'exprimer la Répétition et l'Antériorité en Latin Tardif*. 5th- or 6th-century text, *Peregrinatio Aetheriae ad loca sancta*, basis

of study of verb forms. Consistent use of present subjunctive in subordinate clauses in which repetitive action is indicated, as with instructions for ceremonial procedure in the Church, when the time is prior to that of the main verb, after *si*, temporal, and other conjunctions, where in Classical Latin indicative would be regular. Perfect subjunctive to express repetitive action does occur, but is very restricted in Classical Latin; the later practice is here an instance of generalizing an earlier restricted usage. Repetition when there is no priority of time involved expressed by indicative. Some discussion of possible factors affecting practice in Late Latin, e.g., identity of most forms of perfect subjunctive and future perfect indicative.

RPh 16 (1942) 22-30

(Taylor)

VENDRYES, J. *A propos de l'Expression in poculo 'en buvant'*. Abstract sense of the phrase in Cicero De Sen. 14.46, remarkable, perhaps explicable as translation of Plato's ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι (cf. Symp. 214A); Latin *in* equivalent to ἐπὶ in sense of 'over', gradually replaced in this sense by *super*; e.g., *super cenam*, common in empire; note comparable expressions in Anglo-Saxon, med. French, mod. English, 'we sat over a cup of tea.'

RPh 15 (1941) 5-10

(Taylor)

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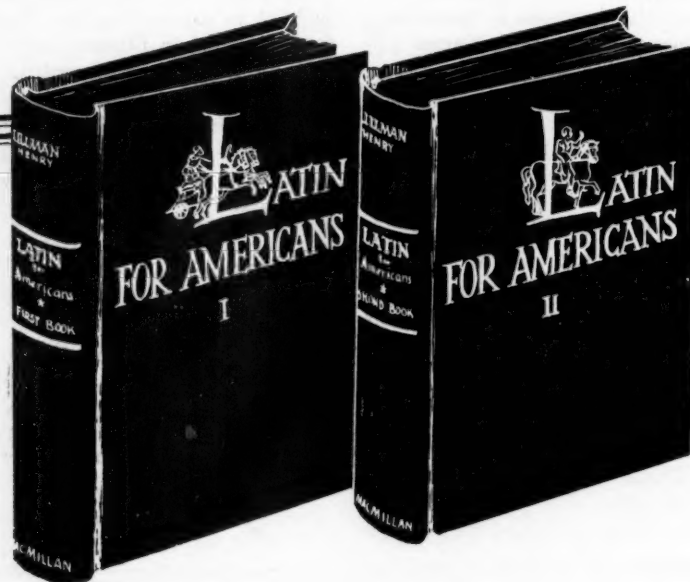
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